1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
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596 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
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591 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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*565 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets).

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[313] There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta- [574]

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

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Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61–62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fasenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fasenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio físico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco países verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

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At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

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Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

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Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

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The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z [illegible], 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[16] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

[16] Including one *branco da Bahia*.